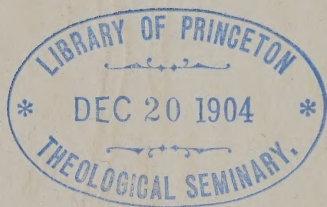


The Athanasian Creed

J. H. RAWDON, M.A.

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THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

SIX EXPOSITORY ADDRESSES

BY THE

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THE following Addresses were given in 1883 to my own Church Workers and others on the Fridays in Lent, and were afterwards repeated on the following Sundays on the conclusion of the Evening Service. It will be seen that their aim is practical, and that they make no claim to original research. They are published in the hope that they may be found more generally useful.

J. H. R.

November, 1884.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP. CONDEMNING CLAUSES.	5
II. DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY TRINITY. SABEL- LIANISM. ARIUS	16
III. DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY TRINITY (<i>continued</i>)	25
IV. DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION. THE GNOS- TICS. ARIUS. APOLLINARIS	36
V. DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION (<i>continued</i>). NESTORIUS, EUTYCHES, &c.	45
VI. CONCLUDING VERSES. RECAPITULATION. REASONS FOR RETAINING THE CREED	55

APPENDIX.

THE CREED IN ENGLISH	65
THE CREED IN LATIN	67
ON THE CONDEMNING CLAUSES. BISHOP COTTON.	70
THE CREED A PSALM. NEWMAN	71
RESPONSIBILITY OF BELIEF. DEAN CHURCH.	72

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

ADDRESS I.

THE subject of the Athanasian Creed is a difficult one, but believing, as I do, that this Creed, no less than the Apostles' and the Nicene, "ought"—in the language of the eighth Article of the Church of England,—“thoroughly to be received and believed,” I wish during this Lent to give a course of brief Addresses upon it, which I trust may be practically useful. In this Address I shall confine myself to two chief points:

I. The origin of the Creed, i.e. its date, authorship, and the place where it was most probably written.

II. The great practical difficulty, which it presents to many minds, in the strong language of its condemning clauses.

I. You will observe in the Rubric before the Creed that its authorship is not assigned by our Church to St. Athanasius; it is described as the “Confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius,” and we shall presently see good reason to conclude that it was called Athanasian only in the same sense as the Apostles' Creed was called after the Apostles: viz., as containing and enforcing the great doctrines, of which Athanasius was the chief exponent and defender.

A careful examination of the language of the

Creed, and a comparison of it with the known course of Church History, more especially as regards the development of the various heresies, by which the existence of the Catholic faith was from time to time imperilled, enables us to fix the date within a few years.

In the 32nd verse of the Creed the language used respecting our Lord's manhood, "of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting," clearly refers to the heresy of Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, a friend of St. Athanasius, who, after doing good service against the Arian impugners of our Lord's divinity, afterwards went off into an opposite error, and taught that our Lord had not a "reasonable" human soul, but only the affections and body of a man, His Godhead supplying in Him the place of a "reasonable and intellectual soul." This error came to a head about A.D. 376, when Apollinaris founded a sect of his own, setting up rival Bishops, and embodying his doctrines in hymns and popular songs.

Again, there are expressions in the Creed which are evidently drawn from the writings of St. Augustine, the great Bishop of Hippo, in North Africa, and other signs of the influence of his teaching, which make it unlikely that it was written before A.D. 420. This gives us the limit in one direction.

Then it has been observed that there is no distinct and direct condemnation of two very serious heresies of a later time, of which we shall have to speak in future Addresses, though it is true that both are excluded by the language of the Creed, and guarded against by anticipation. I mean, first, the heresy of Nestorius, Archbishop of Constantinople, who, in denying that the blessed Virgin was in any

sense "the Mother of God¹," virtually taught that in our Lord there were two Persons, one the eternal Word, the Son of God, and the other the Son of man, thus making Him in effect to be two Christs. And secondly, the heresy of Eutyches, the abbot of a monastery near Constantinople, who from his opposition to Nestorius was led into an opposite error, and taught that our Lord's human soul was absorbed into His Divine nature, and that so He had but one nature, that of God, instead of two natures, that of God and that of Man.

Now these two last-named heresies were respectively condemned by the Council of Ephesus in 431, and that of Chalcedon in 451—the third and fourth General Councils, as they are called.

Hence the Creed can hardly be later than A.D. 431 or 451. These dates give us the other limit. It may therefore be concluded that it was written² between A.D. 420 and 431 or 451, but St. Athanasius died in 373, and the Creed is not found amongst his writings.

Again, its form and general cast show that it must have been written originally in Latin, and that it belonged to the Western and not the Eastern Church. Moreover it was first used in France, where at a very early period it was sung with the Psalms for

¹ "Mother of God" does not convey to English ears what was meant by *Theotokos*. "Mother of Him Who is God" would express its meaning more exactly. What the Fathers intended by calling the blessed Virgin *Theotokos* was that the Word was born of her, inasmuch as He took flesh of her, and became her child in virtue of His Manhood. See Address V.

² Mr. Ommaney concludes that it was drawn up not later than the first half of the fifth century: *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 282. So Bp. Harold Browne on the Thirty-nine Articles, whom I have chiefly followed. Profs. Swainson and Lumby adopt a later date.

the day, where also the greatest number of MSS. of it, and those the oldest, have been found, and where it was held in the greatest esteem, and commented upon by many learned divines.

If then it was written in France between A.D. 420 and 451, the next question is who could have written it. There were two great men then living, one a Bishop the other a Priest, to each of whom it has been ascribed; and it is remarkable that both were at one time inmates together of the monastery of Lerins, in the south of France¹. Our great English writer on the Creed, Waterland, assigned it to the former, Hilary, Bishop of Arles, who was thought to have set it forth on taking charge of his Diocese in 429², but in the ground on which he went he is now known to have been mistaken; and it is more probable that the latter, Vincentius Lirinensis, or St. Vincent of Lerins, was its author. This cannot however be considered certain, although the language of one of St. Vincent's undoubted works³ bears the closest resemblance to that of the Creed. It is plain therefore that the Athanasian Creed was so called, as upholding the doctrine of Athanasius and his followers against their Arian opponents, and not because Athanasius was thought to have written it⁴.

II. Next let me turn to the other point of which I spoke, the condemning clauses, to which so many feel an objection, and which were once, I confess, a great difficulty to myself.

¹ Now the Island of St. Honorat, off Cannes.

² See Mr. Ommaney's *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 282.

³ *The Commonitorium*. Ommaney, p. 286.

⁴ Yet this mistake appears to have been current as early as the sixth century. Ommaney, p. 295.

These clauses are the following:

1. "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith."

2. "Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."

28. "He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity."

42. "This is the Catholick Faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved."

1. Now the first thing to be noticed is this, that the English words are a translation of the Latin, and to be understood in the sense of the Latin. Their sound may be harsher in English, and may suggest a more sweeping condemnation of unbelievers or misbelievers than the Latin original, but, if so, they must be interpreted "modestly," and in the sense of the Latin.

Examine these clauses then, and apply this principle.

"Whosoever will be saved"—whosoever would be, or willeth to be among the saved,—to be of the number of those whom the New Testament speaks of as the saved—i.e. to be a member of the Church of Christ, "before all things,"—because faith is the root of all else, the first thing in point of time and of importance in everyone who comes to Christ, "before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith."

"Which Faith except everyone do keep"—literally shall have kept (*servaverit*), "whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."

Here observe that the expression "shall have kept," cannot rightly apply to those who have never had the true faith revealed to them. A man cannot

keep what he has never grasped. Those who have been brought up in a different Creed, or who have been prevented by invincible ignorance or prejudice from accepting the true faith, are not therefore spoken of here, whether on other grounds they are responsible or not; but I will return to this presently. "He therefore that will be saved"—the same expression as before—he therefore that desires to be in a state of salvation, salvation being regarded as a thing of the present rather than a thing of the future—"must thus think of the Trinity." The Latin is "ought thus to think," or "let him thus think"—it is the language of teaching, not of denunciation.

Again "this is the Catholick Faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved," i.e. not he must certainly be lost, but he is not now at this present time to be considered as in a state of salvation, a true member of Christ's Holy Catholic Church. Thus interpreted, these clauses are to be understood, as Bishop Cotton, of Calcutta¹, pointed out in an important charge delivered many years ago (in 1864), not as declaring the conditions of final acceptance or rejection, which conditions are rather defined in the verse, "they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire," but as laying down the conditions of Baptism—of Church membership in regard to faith. The first point then in dealing with this difficulty is to take the words, as they are intended, remembering that their meaning is to be explained by the Latin original.

2. Next let us remember that the threatenings of Scripture must always be taken just as Article XVII declares that its promises are to be, viz. "as they be

¹ See Appendix, p. 70.

generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture." That is, they are to be taken as warnings of the general principles by which God will judge men, but not to be applied to individuals without the reservations, which justice itself requires to be made, and which it is the office of the Judge to make.

Our Lord Himself has said, "He that believeth not, shall be condemned." He thus declares that men are responsible for their belief; and each of us must take the warning to himself; but we must be extremely careful how we apply it to others. It is a general principle, like many others in the Bible. The Bible declares that various classes of persons—liars, drunkards, fornicators, extortioners, covetous persons—shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven; but no one would presume so to apply these warnings as to decide on the final state of individuals, or would suppose that they left no room for God's merciful consideration of men's circumstances, temptations, and early training; and no one, this being understood, would think it uncharitable to repeat them, as warnings.

Go back then once more to this clause. "Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." Take it to mean, as it surely does, that whoever, having received the true faith of a Christian, has not kept it, but cast it away, or corrupted it through pride or carelessness or a perverse will, he, without doubt, is guilty of a mortal sin—he shall perish, if he repent not—and, after all, there is nothing very harsh in this statement.

The words "without doubt" apply to the truth of the principle. They declare that the warning is

sure, as it would be in the case of any other sin condemned by God, but this does not make our application of it to this or that individual sure. In every case there must be doubt—room for a charitable hope—for who knows what God's dealings may be with any individual soul?

But it may be said, Are men responsible for their belief? To this we must answer,—every one who has deeply considered the matter must answer, Yes! faith in Christ, and in the doctrines of the Gospel—faith in the only sense in which it is worth anything, is not a matter of the intellect only, it depends partly and in great measure upon the life and character—in short upon moral habits¹. And these clauses would be important if it were only for the fact that they assert this. They do not mean that every one who fails to understand, or to believe aright every detail of this Creed shall certainly perish²; but they do mean that every one who by his own sin or fault has let go, or defiled the truth, which he has once received, is “without doubt” on the way to perdition, and not on the way to eternal life.

Thus we neither condemn the heathen, who have never heard the Gospel; nor those who have been brought up outside the Church's fold; nor even those who have mistakenly, but yet in the sincerity of their hearts, withdrawn themselves from her teaching. We speak of those within the fold; we speak, above

¹ See Appendix V.

² “To keep” (*servare*) is not used in the Creed in the sense of “hold” intellectually (*tenere*), but rather in that of “guard,” “preserve,” in a moral and spiritual sense (= *custodire*), so St. Paul says, “I have kept the faith,” &c. See Bishop Cotton's Charge, p. 40, who quotes from Donaldson's Christian Orthodoxy. 2 Tim. iv. 7. Appendix, p. 70.

all, to ourselves, and we say that the Catholic Faith, which in all ages has been assailed by human error, is before all things to be believed and maintained, because it is the foundation of all true belief; because it is the Church's most precious deposit, which she has to keep and to hand on pure and undefiled to remotest generations; because it is the well-spring of all that is good and holy in her teaching; and the root out of which all true works of love should grow.

Does any one still doubt whether he can use the language of the Creed, and yet exercise a large and charitable hope towards others? let him ponder the words of one of the greatest Champions of the faith, which our own or any other Church has produced—

“The Church would not pronounce even upon the authors of heresy, widely desolating as their errors have been. To their own Master they have stood or fallen. But it is acknowledged that hereditary misbelief mitigates the responsibility of individuals. Heresy loses some of its virus by transmission. Voluntary and culpable rejection of God's truth, bad faith, perversity of will alone condemn No—that word of God stands sure, ‘In every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him.’ For the Lover and Father of mankind, Who willeth not that any should perish, has not one way only of bringing home His lost sheep. All who shall be saved, shall be saved for the sake of that precious blood which has redeemed our earth and arrayed it with divine glory and beauty; . . . in those ever open portals [of heaven] there enter day and night that countless multitude of every people, nation, and language; they who in the Church were

by His grace faithful to Him, and they who knew not the Church of God, whom the Church below knew not how to win, or, alas! neglected to win them, but whom Jesus looked upon, and the Father drew to Himself, whom His inner light enlightened, and who out of the misery of our fallen state, drawn by His unknown grace, looked up yearningly to Him, their unknown God yet still their God, for He made them for Himself. There, out of every religion or irreligion, out of every clime, in whatever ignorance steeped, in whatever hatred or contempt or blasphemy of Christ nurtured, God has His own elect, who ignorantly worship Him, whose ignorant fear or longing, He who inspired it will accept. No! ask any tolerably instructed Christian person, and his instinct will respond what every teacher of the Church everywhere knows to be the truth. Ask him—Will any soul be lost, heathen, idolater, heretic, or in any form of hereditary unbelief or misbelief, if in good faith he was what he was, living up to the light which he had, whencesoever it came, and repenting him when he did amiss. All Christendom would answer you, God forbid! He would not be saved by ‘that law which he professeth,’ but he would be saved in it, by the one love of God the Father Who made him, and of God the Son Who redeemed him, and of God the Holy Ghost Who drew and in His measure sanctified him.” These are the words of Dr. Pusey, spoken years ago¹, and if there are any of you who have at times felt upset by such doubts and questionings, as they are intended to relieve, I trust that they may find them as helpful and as cheering, as they have been to others, myself

¹ Sermon on Responsibility in Matters of Faith (1872), p. 37.

included. The truth is that the controversies to which this Creed, and more especially our translation of its condemning clauses, has given rise, have had the effect of causing too many persons to approach it from a wrong point of view. They have unfortunately learned to regard it as defining the limits, within which the salvation of *other* men is possible, and therefore as chiefly condemnatory in its character, instead of being, as it is rather, an act of faith and worship on our part towards God,—a solemn confession of the truth, which we believe, and of our responsibility, if we let it slip.

And here I cannot forbear quoting in conclusion the words of another writer¹, now alas! no longer of our Communion, “The Athanasian Creed is not a mere collection of notions however momentous: it is a Psalm, a hymn of praise, of confession, and of profound homage, parallel to the Canticles of the elect in the Apocalypse. It appeals to the imagination quite as much as to the intellect. It is the war-song of faith, with which we first warn ourselves, then each other, and then all who are within its hearing and the hearing of the truth, who our God is, and how we must worship Him, and how vast our responsibility will be if we know what to believe, and yet believe not. It is

‘The Psalm that gathers in one glorious lay
All chants that e’er from heaven to earth found way,
Creed of the Saints, and Anthem of the Blest,
And calm-breathed warning of the kindest love
That ever heaved a wakeful mother’s breast.’”

(Keble, *Lyra Ap.* cxv.)

¹ Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, p. 129. See also Appendix IV.

ADDRESS II.

WE now come to the doctrine of the Athanasian Creed, as an exposition or rather a defence of the Catholic Faith; and I say defence rather than exposition because it is a mistake to regard it, as so many do, as an attempt to explain mysteries, which cannot really be explained, being rather a series of counter-statements in denial of various heresies, into which the speculations of rash dogmatists had led them.

The doctrine of the Creed then falls chiefly under two heads:

I. Its teaching in regard to the Holy Trinity;

II. Its teaching in regard to the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ: the rest of the Creed being merely a repetition of the chief articles relating to our Lord and the final Judgment of mankind, which are presumed to have been already learned from the Apostles' Creed.

We will consider to-day the third and next three verses, which relate to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and will continue the subject, as it is expanded in the next twenty-two verses in the succeeding Address.

“And the Catholick Faith is this, That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;”

“Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance.”

“For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost.”

“But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one; the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.”

Now the first general idea which we have to grasp is this, that in God, as He has revealed Himself to us in the New Testament, there are Three Persons, so distinct as to perform separate acts, yet so united as to be but one God. “Three in One and One in Three,” as we sing in our hymn. Thus in the words of the Creed “there is One Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost, but the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one, the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.”

The glory of the Three Persons is “equal,” because the Godhead of the Son and of the Holy Ghost is not less divine than that of the Father, being one and the same with it.

The Majesty is “co-eternal,” because, as there never was a time when the Father was not God, so there never was a time, when the Son was not God, nor a time when the Holy Ghost was not God.

So that (as we learn also from the Nicene Creed), the whole Three Persons are to be worshipped and glorified together.

But now I will ask you to fix your attention upon the fourth verse, which I have passed over, but which is really the most important verse of this portion of the Creed, which relates to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

“Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance.”

The two clauses of this sentence relate to the two most serious forms of error on the subject of the Holy Trinity which disturbed the early Christian Church.

I. The words "confounding the Persons," describe the doctrine of several false teachers, who lived from the close of the second century to the middle of the third, a doctrine which is generally called Sabellianism, from one of them, whose name was Sabellius¹.

These false teachers, in their professed desire to uphold the unity of the Divine Nature, virtually denied the existence in it of Three Persons, speaking of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as if they were but three *ways* in which God had revealed Himself to man, or three *characters*, which He had assumed, or again, three *influences*, or *extensions* of the Divine Nature, so that the Father might be at one time the Son, and at another the Holy Ghost, while some of them even held, or were believed to have held, that the Father suffered on the cross; and others taught that the Son and the Holy Ghost, when they had accomplished the work for which they had come forth from the Father, would return into, and be eventually so merged in Him, as to lose their personality.

This doctrine took various forms, but how fatal in any of them it must have been to any right understanding of the Gospel, how fatal to the truths of Christ's mediation and atonement anyone can see at a glance. A perfect antidote to it, I need hardly remind you, is provided for us in our Lord's last discourse with His disciples in the fourteenth chapter of St. John and the two following chapters, where

¹ Robertson's Church History, vol. i. p. 86. Date of Sabellius, about 260.

He plainly speaks of the Father, and of Himself, and of the Holy Ghost as three Persons, using the pronoun "He," and not "it," of the Blessed Spirit, just as we do in speaking of a separate Person, and yet implying such an underlying unity of nature in the three Persons, that no one could suppose that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost were separate in the same sense in which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or any other three human persons are separate from one another.

The baptismal formula, again, and especially the position of the name of the Son, coming as it does between that of the Father and the Holy Ghost, implies the same distinction of persons in the Blessed Trinity.

However, "Sabellianism," or the Confusion of the Persons, was not an error which ever obtained any great influence. It is chiefly important as having been one of the directions in which human speculation ran when exercised on this mystery.

2. The next clause, "dividing the substance," relates to a more serious, because a more widely desolating error.

In order to understand the words aright, we may perhaps substitute the term "nature" for "substance"¹. "Dividing the substance" will thus mean "dividing the nature," i.e. making the Godhead—the divine

¹ Not that the terms are strictly synonymous—for it is possible to conceive of existences having the same "substance" but not the same "nature." In verse 36 "substance" has been substituted for "nature," which St. Augustine used in reference to the Incarnation in the passage from which this clause is taken: "*Idem Deus qui homo, et qui Deus idem homo; non confusione naturæ sed unitate personæ.*" *Serm.* 186, cap. 1.

nature or essence of the Son—to be different from that of the Father, *inferior* to it in fact, and making the Godhead, the divine nature of the Holy Ghost, to be different from, and *inferior* to, that of both the Father and the Son. The heresy here referred to is that of Arius, who was condemned at the Council of Nice, the First General Council, A.D. 325, and that of his followers the Semiarians (or half Arians) who were condemned at the Second General Council, that of Constantinople, A.D. 381.

This Arius was a parish priest of Alexandria, and his doctrine was that the Son, though Divine, was not God from everlasting. Laying great stress on His title, “Only-begotten,” he affirmed that He was begotten in time. He did not deny that He existed before the world was made, as I suppose most of the modern Unitarians would, but he said that “there was a time when He was not.” Now what this really came to was, that he made our Blessed Lord to be a creature; and though he worshipped Him as Divine, he made His Godhead to be inferior to that of the Father; in other words, he divided the substance—the nature of the Godhead—making the nature of the Son to be inferior to that of the Father; and so in effect he introduced a second God, and must have brought his followers back to Polytheism. Respecting the Holy Ghost, he does not seem to have taught any distinctive error, though the denial of His perfect Godhead was involved implicitly in the denial of that of the Son. The controversy in his lifetime was entirely respecting the Godhead of the Son. Arius was excommunicated by his bishop, Alexander of Alexandria, and retired to Nicomedia in Bithynia. There he wrote songs

and verses to be learned by his adherents in order to the spread of his opinions. Meanwhile the controversy had come to the knowledge of the Emperor Constantine, who had lately become a Christian, but was as yet but imperfectly acquainted with Christian doctrine. At first he thought that the disputes between the Orthodox and Arius were on trifling matters, and enjoined both sides to cease from controversy. He soon, however, found that the question under discussion was really a vital one, and as no one else had the authority to do so, he summoned a Council of the whole Church, and issued orders for the bishops from all parts of the world to meet him at Nicea, a quiet city of Bithynia, not too far from his capital, and suitable therefore for such a meeting, there to decide the question.

Three hundred and eighteen bishops answered the summons, and among them Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, accompanied by his young Archdeacon, Athanasius. Athanasius wonderfully distinguished himself in unveiling the disguises of Arius and his party, and demonstrated the fatal character of his error. The Council thereupon condemned Arianism, and drew up the Nicene Creed, as far as the words "I believe in the Holy Ghost," using as its ground-work a much older Creed¹, and inserting in it the all-important words, "Very God of very God, begotten not made, being of One Substance with the Father," and laying especial stress on the expression "of one substance," which was meant to assert the

¹ That of the Church of Cæsarea in Palestine, which Eusebius its Bishop had produced.

unity and equality of the Son's divine nature with that of the Father.

The subsequent history of Arius and his opinions, and his sudden and tragic death at Constantinople the very night before he was to have been received back into communion—for the Emperor, who had been again deceived by his adherents, had ordered the aged Archbishop so to receive him—would take us too far from our present subject to relate.

The mischief, however, did not end here. Several Emperors after Constantine were Arians, and bitterly persecuted those who held the Nicene faith. All this and the thrilling history of the sufferings of St. Athanasius, who, having become bishop of Alexandria, a year after the Nicene Council, was driven no less than five times from his See, spending eight years at one time in banishment, and six years at another in hiding amongst the monks of Upper Egypt, I must also leave for those who wish to do so to read for themselves.

After a time the majority of the followers of Arius accepted the Nicene Creed, though some of them tried to substitute the expression of "like substance," for "of one substance." These were called Semiarians; while others of them now shifted their ground, and admitting¹ in a sense the Godhead of the Son², denied that of the Holy Ghost. These last were called Macedonians, from Macedonius, Bp. of Constantinople; and they held that the Holy Ghost was inferior in nature to both the Son and the Father, and that he was created by the Son, while some said that he was "a Minister,"

¹ *ὁμοιούσιον* (Homoiousion) instead of *ὁμοούσιον* (Homoöusion).

² Robertson's Church History, i. 255.

or "as an Angel." The errors of the Semiarians and Macedonians were condemned by the Second General Council, that of Constantinople, A. D. 381, which completed the Nicene Creed, and affirmed that the Holy Ghost was "the Lord" (i. e. God), and also the "Giver of Life"; that He proceeded from the Father¹, and with the Father and the Son together was to be worshipped and glorified, and that He spake by the prophets.

Thus was the true faith, as to the oneness of the nature of the Son and the Holy Ghost, finally vindicated, and it was maintained that the "Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost is all one, the Glory equal, and the Majesty co-eternal," all which is implied in the words, "nor dividing the substance," i. e. not making the divine nature of the Father to be separate or different from that of the Son, or that of the Holy Ghost.

And so while, on the one hand, guarding against the errors of the Sabellians, we hold that in the Holy Trinity there are Three Persons, so distinguished, that they have distinct and separate actions ascribed to them, and are spoken of in language which can only imply personality;—on the other hand, guarding against the errors of Arius and his followers, we declare that these Persons are so united in one and the same Divine Substance, Nature, or Godhead, that they are but *one* God.

¹ The procession from the Son was not taught in this Creed. The famous "filioque" clause was first introduced by the Churches of France and Spain into their Latin copies. The controversy hence arising was the cause of the final rupture between the Western and the Eastern, the Roman and the Greek Churches in 1054. See below Address III, p. 30.

My Brethren, do not think that we are thus attempting to explain a mystery which cannot be explained, but take all this teaching of the Creed as a defence and a rampart against the false results of human speculation, and use it as a key to unlock the treasures of Holy Scripture.

Read that last discourse of our Blessed Lord with His disciples already referred to¹, or the 1st chapter of St. John's Gospel, or the 1st chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, or the 2nd chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, and see if this key, which the Church puts into your hands, is not the one which unlocks the difficulties of these and similar passages, and which gives us the *only* adequate account of what God Himself has taught us implicitly in His word by His Holy Spirit,—by Him “who spake by the prophets” in the Old Testament, and by the Evangelists and Apostles in the New. And if it is indeed such a key, then in God's name I beseech you, lay hold of it thankfully, and pray that you may never suffer it to be taken from you, or, still worse, be tempted to cast it away heedlessly and sinfully yourselves.

¹ See a Sermon by Dean Vaughan, Words from the Gospels, Sermon. XXII.

ADDRESS III.

THE portion of the Athanasian Creed, which we have now to consider, from the 7th to the 28th verse, is chiefly a re-statement in detail of what the Creed has already taught us concerning the co-equality and the co-eternity of the three Persons in the one undivided Godhead.

This portion again falls into two divisions:

I. The first, from the 7th to the 20th verse, sets forth those essential attributes of the Godhead, which belong alike to each of the Divine Persons;

II. The second, from the 21st to the 28th verse, explains more fully the distinction between the Persons and their relation to each other, concluding in the same words with which the doctrinal part of the Creed began, "the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped," and declaring the necessity of our belief in it.

I. We will take first those verses which set forth the divine attributes, which belong to each Person of the Holy Trinity alike, viz. from verse 7 to verse 20 inclusive.

To this part of the Creed, the 7th verse, "Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost," is a sort of text, and all that follows is but an amplification of it, and contains no difficulty which need detain us.

(1) First three attributes, which describe God's *Infinite* nature, are ascribed to each Person separately. Each is "Uncreate," "Incomprehensible," and "Eternal," yet not so as if the substance, the divine nature were divided, and there were three Uncreated, or three Incomprehensibles, or three Eternals. Let us read these verses [7 to 12].

"Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost.

The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate.

The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.

The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal.

And yet they are not three eternals, but one eternal.

As also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated, but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible."

These are plain statements, and we have only to consider the meaning of the terms employed. "Uncreate," then, means that God owes His origin to none, being the "First Cause of all." "Incomprehensible" is not "that which cannot be understood," which is the modern sense of the word, but "that which cannot be grasped," or limited in SPACE; which is the original sense of the word, and so, as applied to God, it means that He is everywhere present. "Eternal" means having no relation to TIME, but without beginning or end. Each Person is thus declared to be "Uncreate" as to His origin, "Incomprehensible," without limit in space, and "Eternal," without limit in time, and yet there is

but *one* "Uncreated," *one* "Incomprehensible," and *one* "Eternal" nature or Godhead.

(2) Next, the three great names by which God revealed Himself to the patriarchs and prophets, and which are given to Him in Scripture sometimes separately, and sometimes in combination, are ascribed to each Person of the Holy Trinity. Each is Almighty, Each is God, and Each is Lord; i. e. Jehovah, the name by which God revealed Himself to Moses at the bush, the "I Am" (the Self-existent One). And again it is declared that, though these three divine and awful names belong to each Person by Himself, yet they do not so belong to each, as if there were three Almighties, or three Gods, or three Lords, but again as three Persons in one divine essence, substance, nature or Godhead.

Now read verses 13-20.

"So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty.

And yet they are not three Almighties, but one Almighty.

So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God.

And yet they are not three Gods, but one God.

So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord.

And yet not three Lords, but one Lord.

For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity, to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord;

So are we forbidden by the Catholick Religion to say, There be three Gods, or three Lords."

In all this, to a shallow mind, there might seem to be much repetition, with little or no additional

information; yet is there not in the very ring of these sentences—these authoritative statements—a majestic simplicity, which well befits such a subject as the nature of the God, whom we worship and adore? while as, again and again, the same truth is enforced and guarded, the mind is more and more impressed with the sense of its preciousness and importance¹.

II. We now pass to the other division of this portion of the Creed, in which the Persons of the Holy Trinity are further distinguished, and their mutual relations explained.

Read verses 21-23.

“The Father is made of none, neither created, nor begotten.

The Son is of the Father alone; not made, nor created, but begotten.

The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son; neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.”

“The Father is made of none,” being Himself the maker of all things: neither “created” as angels and men are; nor “begotten” as the Son is. On the contrary He is the First Cause of all, beyond whom we cannot reach even in thought, and the origin, or fountain-head, as the Greek Fathers used to say, of the Godhead.

“The Son is of the Father alone.” His very name has respect to the relation in which He stands eternally to the Father: He is not “made,” as out of any substance, material or immaterial, nor “created,” as out of nothing, but “begotten.”

“The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son;

¹ See Appendix IV.

neither made nor created, nor" (like the Son) "begotten, but proceeding," eternally coming forth, from the Father and the Son.

Now here we touch on a very difficult subject, the difficulty of which however has arisen mainly from the sharp controversy which grew up concerning it, and the unhappy schism, to which it led; I mean the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son.

There had never been any doubt as to this procession from the Father. Our Lord's words are conclusive on that in the fifteenth chapter of St. John, where He speaks of the Holy Ghost as the Comforter, "Whom He would send from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father" (verse 26). The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father. And so it was stated in the Nicene Creed¹, the words of which originally ran, "the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father," without the addition, which we now have of the words, "and the Son."

The introduction of these words into the Nicene Creed without the authority of a General Council, has been for centuries one of the great complaints of the Eastern Church—the Greek Church, which extends over Russia, Turkey, and parts of Asia—against Western Christendom, and is still one of the chief bars to intercommunion. The subject belongs more properly to the history of the Nicene Creed, but a very few words may be said about it here, because the doctrine of the procession of the

¹ More strictly the Constantinopolitan Creed, A.D. 381. The Nicene Creed, as originally set forth, concluded with the words, "I believe in the Holy Ghost."

Holy Ghost from the Son as well as the Father, has always been expressed in the Athanasian Creed, and because we believe it to be true.

The Scriptural authority for this belief may be briefly given. The Holy Ghost is called the Spirit of Christ, just as He is called the Spirit of the Father. The Son promises to send Him from the Father, and as the Father breathed forth His Spirit into the minds of the prophets, which is the very meaning of "inspiration," so the Son of God breathed on His Apostles, and said unto them, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost¹;" in fact, to use the words of the present Bishop of Winchester in his book on the Articles, "The Scriptures set forth the relation of the Spirit to the SON, in all these respects, in the very same language, in which they set forth the relation of the Spirit to the FATHER. Hence we conclude that, as the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, so He proceeds from the Son²."

We therefore believe this doctrine—a doctrine which was always taught, so far as we know, in Western Christendom—to be Scriptural and true; at the same time that we regret that it was introduced without proper authority into the Nicene Creed. In the early part of the ninth century, when complaint was made to Pope Leo III, that the Churches of France and Spain were adding the words "and the Son" in their recitation of the Nicene Creed, he forbade it, and had the original words of the Creed engraved on silver plates, in Greek and Latin, and set up in the church of St. Peter at Rome. The controversy, however, broke

¹ St. John xx. 22.

² Bp. Browne on the 39 Articles, p. 119.

out again and again ; and doubtless there were faults on both sides, until in 1053, in the time of our king Edward the Confessor, and thirteen years before the Norman Conquest, Pope Leo IX excommunicated the whole of the Greek Churches, with their head, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the schism has never since been healed.

You may say, Why cannot we alter the Nicene Creed, and remove the words which have caused offence? The answer is, that though we may regret the way, in which they were first introduced, we cannot now remove them after so many centuries have passed, without seeming to cast a slur upon the doctrine which we hold to be scriptural and true.

At the same time it is comforting to observe that the dispute is not so much about the truth itself, as the expression of it in that particular Creed ; for the Easterns acknowledge with us that the Holy Ghost is "the Spirit of the Son," as well as of the Father—in fact they hold the same truth, which we do, implicitly, but refuse to express it, adhering to the letter of our Lord's words, "which proceedeth from the Father," as if they had been meant to exclude the procession of the Holy Ghost from Himself¹.

But I must return from what is really a digression, although the words "the Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son," imply this double procession.

The next verse, the 24th, "So there is one Father, not three Fathers ; one Son, not three Sons ; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts," is against those who taught that, instead of there being only one origin or fountain-head of the divine nature, viz. the Father, by whom the Son was begotten, and

¹ See Bp. Browne on Arts., p. 227.

from whom and the Son the Holy Ghost eternally proceeded, each of the other Persons was a separate and original source of the Godhead, as if there were three unoriginated¹ principles, to each of which there pertained a Trinity of persons. "So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts." It is hard to understand how such a doctrine as this "Trinity of Trinities," as it was called, could have arisen, but we are assured that there were certain obscure sects, which did hold it, and were condemned by the Church on various occasions.

We now come to the only important verse, which remains for us to consider in relation to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the 25th. Let us read it and the verse following, which however is only a repetition of what we have already been taught.

"And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other; none is greater, or less than another;

But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together, and co-equal."

Now here we have a statement which might seem, at first sight, to contradict what has just been said about the Father alone being the source, origin, or fountain-head of the divine nature—but it does not really do so. It is not intended by it to deny that there is in the Godhead a kind of "Subordination" of the Son to the Father, and of the Holy Ghost to the Father and the Son, but that in regard to the Persons of the Holy Trinity none is afore or after other in respect of time, and none is greater or less than another in respect of dignity of nature, but they

¹ τρεῖς ἀναρχοι.

are co-eternal and co-equal together, or as it was expressed in the 6th verse, their "Godhead is one . . . the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal."

It is possible that here the thought may occur to some, Did not our Lord say on one occasion, "My Father is greater than I?" (St. John xiv. 28.) The answer is, that He was then speaking of Himself after He had become man, and in relation to His manhood. This is, in fact, explained later in the 33rd verse of the Creed, "equal to the Father, as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father, as touching His Manhood;" but in this part of the Creed we are not dealing with the Incarnation, but speaking of the Son only in regard to His Divine nature, as the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. In that respect, "the Son is not inferior to the Father," though subordinated to Him as a Son, i.e. the essential attributes of the Godhead, which belong to the Father as God, belong also to the Son; the difference is that all these are given to the Son from the Father. Our Lord on other occasions teaches us His Divine equality with the Father. He says, "All things that the Father hath are Mine" (St. John xvi. 15); and again in the next chapter, where He is speaking of His disciples, though the words are universal in form, including them and all things else, "All Mine are Thine, and Thine are Mine, and I am glorified in them" (xvii. 10). And again (v. 26, a passage, which exactly illustrates what has been just said), "As the Father hath life in Himself," i.e. is Self-existent, Self-existence being one of the greatest attributes of the Godhead, so hath "He given to the Son to have life in Himself," i.e. to be Self-existent also. And you will remember how in the same

chapter (v. 22, 23), the judgment of men, which is elsewhere referred to the Father, is declared by our Lord to have been "committed" by the Father to the Son, "that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father," i.e. of course honour Him "as God."

I conclude this important subject, the relation of the Divine persons to each other, in the careful and instructive words of Bishop Harold Browne, in his important work on the Thirty-nine Articles of our Church¹. "The early Fathers of the Church," he says, "held that the Father is the head and fountain of Deity (*πηγή Θεότητος*), from whom the Son and the Spirit are from all eternity derived, but so derived as not to be divided from the Father; but they are in the Father and the Father in them by a certain inhabitation (*περιχώρησις*). So then, though they acknowledged the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to be really Three Persons; yet they held them [and the Bishop here quotes Bishop Bull] to have no divided or separate existence, as three different men have, but to be intimately united and conjoined one to another, and to exist in each other, and by the said ineffable inhabitation to pervade or permeate one another." My brethren, what a light is thrown by this wonderful doctrine of the Holy Trinity on the truth that "God is Love," and that in Him alone it is made perfect—for how, we might well ask, can God find outside of His own Being any object worthy of the infinitude of His love? Yet, if this doctrine is true, and there is in the Godhead this Trinity of Divine Persons, as the Scripture

¹ p. 58.

teaches us and as the Catholic faith assures us, then is all plain, and the human love of one for another is but the reflection of a love which is perfect in God only; it is one drop in each case out of the ocean of the infinite and all-perfect love, which is in the bosom of the Almighty. And so the teaching of the Creed on this deepest and most fundamental mystery concludes, "So that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped." "He therefore that will be saved," he that will now be in a state of salvation, for that, as we have seen, the Latin means, "must thus think"—ought thus to think—"of the Trinity," for this is the doctrine which the Scripture teaches and to which the Church in every age bears her unchanging witness.

ADDRESS IV.

IN the last Address we concluded our consideration of the teaching of the Athanasian Creed on the first great doctrine of which it treats, that of the Holy Trinity. With the 29th verse we enter upon its teaching on the second great doctrine, the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

This portion of the Creed, which is to be the subject of to-day's Address, extends from the 29th to the 37th verse. I will now ask you to consider these verses with me in their relation to the errors against which they were chiefly directed, leaving for the next Address the reconsideration of the last four verses in their relation to two very serious forms of heresy, which do not seem to be directly aimed at by them, but to which they proved providentially to be most applicable. Read verses 29, 30 :

"Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation, that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man."

"Furthermore," as the next subject of supreme importance, it is necessary for those who would be in a state of salvation now and hereafter, to believe rightly what the Scripture and the Church teach concerning the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ,—concerning that which resulted, when the Second Person of the Holy Trinity became man and appeared

amongst us, or, as St. John expresses it, when "the Word was made flesh." What then is the right faith which we are to believe and confess concerning our dear Lord and Master, who speaks of Himself as both the "Son of God" and the "Son of man?" And may God help us all to feel the reverence with which such a subject should be approached, and keep us from ever regarding these statements of the Creed, which human errors have made necessary, in the light of cold and formal definitions.

"The right Faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man.

"God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the Substance of His Mother, born in the world."

In other words (remembering that the term "substance" means in the Creed very much what we mean by "nature"), our Lord is God, as deriving His divine nature from the Father, and Man, as deriving His human nature from the blessed Virgin: "Perfect God and Perfect Man."

Let us pause for a moment and think what this signifies. It means in the words of the second Article of our Church, "that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood were joined together in one Person;" so that in Christ there are all things pertaining to the perfection of God's nature, and all things pertaining to the perfection of man's nature—"Perfect God and Perfect man." Let us keep this in mind, and it will help us to understand and estimate the true character of the heresies by which this great doctrine of the Incarnation was at different times assailed.

I. First, let me say a few words about those earliest forms of error which impugned it, and which we find alluded to by both St. Paul and St. John in their Epistles.

They had almost passed away, when the Athanasian Creed was written, so that, though we cannot say that its language was directed against them, it may be useful to show in what way they contradicted the true faith, which it sets forth¹.

I refer to the errors of the Gnostics, a name applied to several sects, and derived from the Greek word for "knowledge," which we are familiar with in such compounds as "agnostic" and the like, and thus intended to express their pretension to a higher form of knowledge than ordinary Christians possessed².

There were many teachers holding various forms of error, to which the general term "Gnostic" was applied, but they had these tenets in common, that they believed in the existence of two great opposing principles of Good and Evil, Light and Darkness, and that they held matter to be essentially evil. They taught also that out of the fulness (*pleroma*), as they called it, of God the Father, there came forth an almost endless procession of spiritual beings, one the parent of another, and each inferior to that from which it was derived. Of these Beings (*Æons* they called them) they believed that Christ was one. It is to this doctrine that St. Paul in all probability refers in his first Epistle to Timothy, where he speaks of "fables and endless genealogies, and oppositions

¹ Yet Marcionism is described by Epiphanius as widely prevalent about A.D. 400, and did not become extinct until the sixth century. Robertson's Church History, vol. i. p. 63.

² ¹ John i. 1; iv. 3; ² John 7.

of science falsely so-called." (1 Tim. i. 4; vi. 20.) How, they argued, if matter were evil, could one of these perfect Spirits, such as they imagined Christ to be, be united to a human body? It was to them an impossible conjunction of good with evil, of light with darkness.

There were two ways in which they explained our Lord's life on earth.

(a) Some said that His human flesh was not real, but only apparent; that He was a phantom and thus that "a shadow was nailed in appearance to a cross," which was only apparent also. It is to this form of error that St. John is constantly referring, when in his Gospel, he lays such stress on the Word being made flesh (St. John i. 14); and in his First Epistle he speaks of having "seen and handled the Word of life," and says, "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God;" and again in his Second Epistle, "Many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh." Indeed this seems to have been the earliest kind of error which arose in the Church: and it consisted in the denial not so much of the divinity, as of the manhood of our Lord.

(b) On the other hand, there were other Gnostic sects who explained the Incarnation differently. They held that our Lord was a real man, but the Son of Joseph and Mary, on whom the Christ descended at His Baptism, and from whom He departed before His crucifixion. In either case the doctrine of the Incarnation was corrupted. In the first case our Lord was neither perfect God nor perfect man, in the second he was a mere man with whom the Christ was for a time united.

The Gnostic heresies were however obsolete, or nearly so, when the Athanasian Creed was written.

II. Let us pass to those forms of error against which this language of the Creed was undoubtedly directed.

“For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man;

“God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the Substance of his Mother, born in the world.”

1. The first error referred to is that of Arius, already explained in its bearing on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, in the two previous Addresses.

His error is necessarily again referred to in relation to the Incarnation, because that doctrine involves a belief in the perfection of our Lord's Godhead, which Arius denied. The words “God, of the Substance of the Father,” mean, as we have seen, that our Lord partook of the Divine nature, the Godhead of the Father, in all that pertained to it. The words, “begotten before the worlds,” mean “before all worlds”—before time began, from all eternity. Now Arius would not have denied the existence of the Son before this world was made, but he put his denial in this most subtle form. “There was a time,” he said, “when He was not¹,” i.e. He was not from all eternity, and if so, He was not perfect God, not equal to the Father, as touching His Godhead, but after all only “a creature.”

That is the first great error, with which this part of the Creed, as well as the earlier portion which we considered in the previous Address, is concerned.

2. And now we come to the second, the error of

¹ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.

Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, which came to a head about A. D. 376, and the clear reference to which was explained to be one of our chief clues to the date of the Creed.

Read verses 32-37 :

“Perfect God, and perfect Man; of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting;

“Equal to the Father, as touching His Godhead; and inferior to the Father, as touching His Manhood.

“Who although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one Christ;

“One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God;

“One altogether; not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person.

“For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ.”

The error of Apollinaris was a directly contrary one to that of Arius, and indeed it was by his strenuous opposition to the teaching of Arius that he seems to have been led into it, for in his endeavour to exalt the Godhead of our Lord he impaired men's belief in the perfection of His manhood. He taught that our Lord had a human body indeed, and an animal soul or principle of life ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$), such as belongs to every living creature, but he maintained that His Godhead took the place of that higher, or “reasonable soul” ($\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$), which belongs to man as distinct from the animal creation.¹ Thus he denied the perfection of Christ's manhood, which consisted

¹ Apollinaris argued that if our Lord had had a human mind, or “reasonable soul,” He must have had sinful instincts, and that the one Christ would have been in fact two. Bright's Church History, p. 146. Hence the language of the Creed “not two but one Christ” is by many believed to refer to Apollinaris rather than Nestorius.

in the possession of a perfect human soul, as well as a perfect human body.

I have already explained what is meant in the first two of these verses.

The teaching of the Creed is here identical with that of the Second Article of the Church of England, that in Christ "two whole and perfect natures were joined together in One Person," the perfect nature of God and the perfect nature of man, and that He, who thus unites these two perfect natures in Himself, must be "equal to the Father, as touching His Godhead," a truth which was laid down in the earlier part of the Creed¹; and "inferior to the Father, as touching His manhood," a truth which our Lord Himself declared when He said, "My Father is greater than I²."

The next verse maintains the unity of His Person.

"Who although He be God and Man: yet He is not two, but one Christ;"

For the followers of Apollinaris had affirmed, that to say, as the Church did, that Christ had a human soul, as well as a Divine Spirit, was to make two Christs.

So also in verses 35, 36:

"One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh; but by taking of the Manhood into God;—

"One altogether; not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person;" the teaching of Apollinaris was aimed at—for it converted the Godhead into flesh, into human nature, by making it take the place of a human soul in Christ; and it made a confusion of "substance,"—of the nature or essence of God and man, instead of keeping each distinct though united in one Person; the true doctrine being that the

¹ Verses 6 and 25, 26.

² See above, p. 33.

Second Person of the Holy Trinity, "the Word," took man's nature into union with His Godhead, not by lowering His Godhead or confusing it with His manhood, but by exalting His manhood, and dignifying it by this ineffable union with His Godhead. And so—to use the illustration of the Creed, and it is no more than an illustration—"As the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ."

Such are the leading errors in regard to the doctrine of the Incarnation against which the Creed protests—those of the Gnostics, and those of Arius and Apollinaris, and it needs but a little reflection to see how destructive any of these must have proved, had it been allowed to prevail.

The errors of the Gnostics were strange and alien from our modes of thought, but they were none the less deadly under the circumstances and at the time when they first arose. Being systems compounded of heathen philosophy with but a slight admixture of Christian teaching, the Christ whom they set forth was either a phantastic Being, with whom men could have had no real affinity, or a mere man, endowed with superhuman powers, which they supposed Him to have received by the descent upon Him at His baptism of a spiritual being, who came to Him for a time and again departed. In either case mankind could not have been redeemed or lifted up by such a Christ. Christianity would have been resolved into a philosophic dream without life or power.

Nor again could Arianism even in its highest form, —and it has ever tended downwards—have given any solid ground of hope to men. Had Christ been less than Perfect God—had He been begotten in time, and thus a creature,—it would have been idolatry to have worshipped Him, while His own

claim to self-existence and co-equality with the Father must have been nothing less than blasphemous; but believing, as we do, in His perfect Godhead, we can trust in Him, and worship Him, and believe in His absolute sinlessness, and in the infinite merits of His Atonement. And once more, because Apollinarianism is false, and our Lord was perfect man, as well as perfect God, and had like us a human soul, we can understand His sympathy, His being "touched with feeling of our infirmities," we can understand again His increasing in wisdom, as well as in stature; the possibility of His being ignorant of some things, as man; of His having had experience of our human griefs and sorrows and temptations; and, above all, we can accept what the Scripture tells us and the Creed affirms, of His descent into Hades,—of the entrance into Paradise of His human soul, without which He would not have tasted death for every one of us.

And so important is this teaching concerning the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, that whatever impugns it, or in any way depraves it, must affect either the perfection of our trust in Him, or of our love for and sympathy with Him, and further must affect our belief in the merits of His Atoning sacrifice and the power of His Resurrection.

Therefore "it is necessary to everlasting salvation to believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ," and to confess that He is Perfect God and Perfect Man, one with His Father in the unity of the undivided Godhead, and one with us men in the reality of that human nature, in virtue of which He became the second Adam, the new Head of regenerated Humanity.

ADDRESS V.

I PROPOSE in this Address to reconsider the last four of those verses relating to the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, which we examined in the last Address, viz. verses 34-47 :

“Who although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one Christ ;

“One ; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God ;

“One altogether ; not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person.

“For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ.”

We saw that these verses were most probably intended by the author of the Creed to refer to the error of the Apollinarians, who denied that our Lord had a “reasonable” or human soul, and held that its place was supplied in Him by His Godhead. Providentially, however, they were found applicable to new dangers, which afterwards appeared, and served to the exclusion of the two very serious forms of error which next arose respecting the Incarnation—the Nestorian and the Eutychian heresies¹.

Let us take verse 34 first, “Who, although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one Christ.” The important words here are, “Yet He is not two, but one Christ.”

Their first intention was a denial, on the part of

¹ I am here following Bishop Harold Browne and Mr. Ommaney, and assuming the earlier date of the Creed.

the faithful, of a doctrine ascribed to them by their Apollinarian opponents. The Apollinarians taunted them with teaching that there were two Christs, because they said that our Lord had a Divine Spirit in virtue of His Godhead, as well as a human soul in virtue of His Manhood. "No," said they, "for though Christ be God and man, we do not teach that 'He is two, but one Christ.'"

But not long after the Nestorian heresy arose, which *did* virtually teach that there were two Christs, for it destroyed the unity of our Lord's Person. And so the words believed to have been originally used by the orthodox in self-defence came to be used as a protest against this new form of error.

I will now try to explain what this was.

Apollinarianism, as we have seen, by denying to our Lord a human soul, had denied the perfection of His Manhood. Nestorianism was a reaction from this. Certain teachers in their controversy with the Apollinarians had come to give such exclusive attention to our Lord's Manhood, that the Man, Christ Jesus, had begun in their view to assume a kind of separate personality from the Eternal Word, the Son of God. This teaching was taken up by Nestorius, who became Archbishop of Constantinople A.D. 428, and began his episcopate by a display of great zeal against heretics¹, and even a persecuting spirit.

He would not have allowed that the Word, the Son of God, "took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin," in such a sense as to involve the Personal union of the Godhead and Manhood in Christ. How could a child of two or three

¹ Robertson's Church History, vol. i. p. 435.

months old, he argued, be God, the Creator? The Son of Mary, he taught, was only a man, with whom the Word associated Himself—a man who co-operated with the Word, and was sanctified by His indwelling, much as a saint or a prophet is sanctified by the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit, though no doubt in a higher degree.

About Christmas time¹ a sermon was preached in the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, in which the preacher said that the blessed Virgin Mary was not to be called Theotocos (Θεότοκος), or mother of God, a title which had been given to her by many of the Fathers, and which meant, not that she was the mother of the Godhead, but the mother of a child who was God as well as man. This title was thus intended not so much to exalt her dignity (though of course in a sense it did so) as to declare the truth concerning her child, that He was indeed “Emmanuel,” God with us, even from the womb. Nestorius, who was present, approved the sermon, and began himself a course of sermons on the subject, in which he taught that it was “not the Word who was born, but the man Jesus;” so he made our Lord to be a deified man, rather than God Incarnate. He would never allow that He who was in the bosom of the Father was also in the blessed Virgin’s womb, and thus borne by her as an Infant in her arms. And thus he virtually made of our Blessed Lord two Christs, the man, who was born of the Virgin, and the Son of God, the Word, who associated Himself with Jesus, but was not really one with Him in a strictly personal union;

¹ See Robertson, vol. i. p. 438. Bright’s Church Hist. p. 311.

whereas the true doctrine is that "the Son of God took man's nature upon Him in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance, and united in one Person the divine and the human nature." Nestorius denied this, and virtually therein denied the truth of the Incarnation. Such a hymn, for instance, as our Christmas hymn, "Hark, the herald angels sing Glory to the new-born king!" would not have coincided with his teaching. He could not have expressed his faith in such words as these:

" Christ, by highest heaven adored,
Christ, the Everlasting Lord,
Late in time behold Him come,
Offspring of a Virgin's womb,
Veiled in flesh the Godhead see!
Hail, the Incarnate Deity!"

They would have been flatly contradictory of his teaching.

The matter became more and more serious, and many great theologians entered the lists against Nestorius. Of these Cyril of Alexandria, and Coelestine the Pope of Rome, were the most prominent. Both held Synods, which condemned Nestorius, and both wrote letters to him,—Cyril several, and his letters, particularly the second, afterwards became standards of orthodoxy¹. It was now determined to assemble a General Council at Ephesus, which met in the church of St. Mary at Ephesus, A.D. 431, and is reckoned as the Third General Council. To this Council St. Augustine, the great Bishop of Hippo in Africa, was specially summoned, but unhappily he died the year before it met.

¹ His second letter received the sanction of the Council of Ephesus as a doctrinal standard.

It would take too long here to describe what took place at the Council. Great violence was displayed by many of those who took part in it, and there was much said and done which we must all regret. Cyril of Alexandria, a truly great theologian as his writings still show, was very far from being all that we might have expected a Christian hishop to be. In his zeal for the faith, he was too often violent and intolerant. Nevertheless God guided the Council to a true conclusion. Nestorius was deposed and excommunicated, and the true faith affirmed in accordance with the ancient Creed of Nicæa.

Nestorius was now banished to the Oasis of the Egyptian desert, where he lived for many years. At last, having been taken captive by a savage African tribe and then released, he gave himself up to the governor of a district of Upper Egypt. This man, with great barbarity, caused him to be hurried from one place to another, till, like St. Chrysostom, more than thirty years before, he died of exhaustion and ill-treatment¹.

Let us now pass to the other form of error, against which the remaining verses we are considering are a providential safeguard, "Eutychianism." This heresy was a reaction from Nestorianism, as Nestorianism had been from Apollinarianism. And it was an error in the same direction as Apollinarianism, only going further, for Eutyches taught that our Lord, after His Incarnation, had but one nature, the nature of God, His Manhood being wholly transubstantiated or absorbed into His Godhead. Hence there was, according to his teaching, a confusion of

¹ Bright's Church History, p. 372.

substance, i. e. of nature, the Godhead and Manhood being no longer distinct when united in Christ, but the Manhood being lost in the Godhead.

Let us read verses 35-37 again :

“ One ; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God ;

“ One altogether ; not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person.

“ For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ.”

We have already seen in the last Address how these verses were meant to guard against Apollinarianism, which denied in one particular the perfection of our Lord's Manhood. We shall now see that they afford, and especially in the words “ not by confusion of substance,” a providential safeguard against the doctrine of Eutyches.

First let me give a very brief account of this controversy.

Eutyches¹ was the Abbot of a large monastery near Constantinople, and was greatly distinguished both by his sanctity of life and his zeal against Nestorianism. It was thus that he came to dwell too exclusively upon our Lord's Godhead till His Manhood was lost sight of. The monks who were under his influence, in speaking of the Manhood of Christ, would even speak of it as “ absorbed in His Godhead, like a drop of honey in the ocean.” Such teaching was of course entirely subversive of the true doctrine of the Incarnation, according to which two distinct natures, the Godhead and Manhood, are united in one Person in Christ. The soundness of Eutyches

¹ Robertson, vol. i. p. 458. Bright, p. 383.

was first called in question about A.D. 448, when Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, with certain other bishops, summoned him to appear before his Diocesan Synod.

At first Eutyches refused to attend, but at last he came, attended by great crowds of his monks. His doctrine, he said, was that, although there were two natures in Christ before the Incarnation, there was only one nature after it, the human nature being absorbed into the divine. The Synod condemned him, but he found many partisans, and was especially supported by Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, a very violent and bad man. The next year, through the intrigues of the friends of Eutyches and the influence of the Court, a General Council was summoned to meet at Ephesus. It met accordingly, under the presidency of Dioscorus, but it was a packed assembly, and its proceedings were so scandalous that the Bishop of Rome, Leo the Great, who wrote a famous letter to it, expounding the true doctrine of the Incarnation, called it an assembly of robbers (*Latrocinium*), and it has gone ever since by that name. The proceedings were attended by a great rabble of monks, and were so violent that the Archbishop of Constantinople died a few days after from the ill-usage he had received. The assembly acquitted Eutyches, but its acts have never been accepted as of any authority. Three years later, A.D. 451, under the Emperor Marcian, the Fourth General Council was summoned, and met at Chalcedon, a town on the other side of the Bosphorus, opposite to Constantinople. This Council condemned and excommunicated Eutyches, and declared the true doctrine of the distinction of the

two whole and perfect natures which are united in one person in Christ.

In this Council the Roman legates presided, and the famous letter of Leo I, the Pope of Rome, on the Incarnation, was adopted as a standard of doctrine. It was also about this time that Leo made for himself and his See the extravagant claim to preeminence which his successors repeated, but which was then and long after refused. Eutyches seems to have died soon after the Council, but nothing certain is known of his end. He was already an old man, when his doctrines were first called in question.

This was the last serious heresy¹ which affected the Incarnation, and threatened to destroy the faith; and the verses of the Creed already read afford all the defence against it which is needed. In Christ, we are taught, that there is no "confusion" of the Godhead with the Manhood; both are as distinct in Him as the soul and the body are distinct in a man, "for as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ."

One other controversy which arose in the days of Mahomet, more than a century and a half later, it may be worth while to mention. It was the question whether our Lord had one Will only, that of His Godhead, or whether the faculty of willing belonged to each of His two natures, His human Will being always exercised in accordance with His divine Will.

The doctrine (called Monothelite) that our Lord had but one Will was held to savour of Apollina-

¹ It was called Monophysitism, or the doctrine of one nature only in Christ.

rianism and other kindred errors, and to involve a denial of the perfection of His Manhood. It was condemned first at Rome and then at a General Council at Constantinople, which is usually reckoned the Sixth General Council,* A.D. 681.

We have thus completed our brief exposition of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and the errors which at different times threatened it. And there is a special interest connected with the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, which we have considered in this Address, as well as with the Monothelite heresy, to which I have very briefly referred, because they afterwards became the tenets of National Churches, which once held an important place in Christendom, and are still in some sort represented in the world.

1. The Nestorians¹, when driven from their original homes within the limits of the Roman empire, spread rapidly and widely through Chaldæa and Persia, and became zealous missionaries. Their peculiar doctrines were taught at Edessa, and they had a bishop at Nisibis in the north-east of Mesopotamia, and afterwards a Patriarch, the head of their Church, who took his title from Babylon, and resided at Bagdad.

In the eighth and three following centuries their missionaries converted many of the Tartar tribes, and penetrated through India and Ceylon, and eastwards into China, where the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century found monuments still bearing their names. From them are descended those Christians of St. Thomas on the Malabar coast

¹ Stanley's Lectures on the Eastern Church, p. 6.

of Southern India, who in the tenth century attracted the notice of our own King Alfred, and whose representatives still exist in the diocese of Travancore, and carry on their ministrations in friendly cooperation with our own missionaries¹.

2. In like manner the Eutychians or Monophysites, believers in one nature only of our Lord, His divine nature, are represented by the Coptic Church of Egypt, the Church of Abyssinia, and the Armenian and Syrian Churches, which own allegiance to the Patriarch of Antioch².

3. The descendants of the Monothelites³ again, who taught that our Lord had only one Will, are to be found in those Maronite Christians of Mount Lebanon, who some years ago were so barbarously massacred by the Druses. They had however relinquished their peculiar tenets long before, in the time of the Crusades, and submitting themselves to the Latin Patriarch of Antioch had joined the Communion of Rome.

In the next Address I hope to review briefly the ground over which we have travelled, and to show the importance of retaining the Athanasian Creed in the Prayer-book, and of repeating it, as we do, in the Services of the Church.

¹ They are no longer Nestorians in faith, having adopted Monophysitism. Stanley, *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, p. 7.

² *Ibid.* pp. 8, 9.

³ *Ibid.* p. 9.

ADDRESS VI.

I WILL begin this concluding Address with a very few words on the remaining verses of the Creed, which present no difficulty, and in which this confession of our faith is brought simply and rapidly to a conclusion.

“Who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead.

“He ascended into heaven, He sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty, from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

“At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account for their own works.

“And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.

“This is the Catholick Faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.”

The very conciseness and brevity of these verses, reiterating, as they do, the statements and almost repeating the language of the Apostles' Creed, and omitting any reference to such important matters as the Holy Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints, show that the Athanasian Creed was meant to supplement, not to supersede, the more ancient Creeds, and to do so by defending and expounding more in detail the two great doctrines of the Trinity, and the Incarnation.

And here it may be well to notice the emphatic recognition of the necessity of good works to salvation,

which meets us in the fortieth and forty-first verses. "At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account for their own works.

"And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire."

No words can more expressly declare the truth of Scripture that at the last day men will be judged "according to their works," and that, though a right faith must be the root of all good in us, a holy life will be the only result of it, which God will accept and bless. The faith which justifies, and the absence of which condemns a man, is not therefore, as some have vainly imagined the Creed to teach, a theoretical belief of certain doctrines, but the practical realisation of them in a corresponding life—a faith, which either has already been fruitful in good works, or would certainly be so, if time and circumstances in the providence of God allowed it to be tested.

And if in its other condemning clauses the Creed recognises, as we have seen it does, the wilful casting away or corrupting of the faith, as putting a man out of the way of salvation and so endangering his final safety, it does here in this, the one condemning clause, which contemplates the final issue of the judgment day, most emphatically make all depend upon the great practical question, whether a man is to be reckoned with "them that have done good," or "them that have done evil."

The last verse reiterates the necessity of believing the Catholic faith "faithfully," and the Latin adds, "firmly,"—a word which our Reformers have omitted in their translation as perhaps putting the matter too stringently. "This is the Catholic faith, which except

a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved," i.e. as we said, he cannot be regarded as of the number of those who are in a state of salvation—a state of present safety.

And now let us briefly review the ground which we have passed over in the previous Addresses.

As to the date and origin of the Creed, we saw, from internal evidence—its express reference to the Apollinarian heresy, and the absence of any very clear mention of the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches—that its date may probably be fixed between A.D. 420 and 451, the date of the Council of Chalcedon. We found on historical grounds that it was in all probability composed in France, and that there was good reason to think that Vincentius of Lerins, the friend and contemporary of Hilary, Bishop of Arles, may well have been its Author.

Then as to the condemning clauses, as they are called, I drew your attention to the fact that they were translated from the Latin, and must be taken in the sense of the original, and that, taken thus, they should be regarded rather as laying down the conditions of Church membership now, than as referring to the final issues of the Judgment hereafter. We saw too that the very terms in which they were expressed forbade us to apply them to any who had been brought up outside the Church's fold and had never rightly received the true faith. I reminded you further that the threatenings of Holy Scripture, of which such warnings of the Church are but echoes, are to be taken, like its promises, "as they be generally set forth to us," i.e. as general principles, the application of which to individuals belongs not to us, but to God, Who is the judge of all men.

Next we entered on the consideration of the doctrinal teaching of the Creed, and first with regard to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

We saw that the general idea of the Holy Trinity presented to us in Scripture was that there are Three co-equal and co-eternal Persons united in one mysterious Godhead to which in the Creed the term "Substance" is applied, having been used by St. Augustine and the Church of his day much as we use the word "nature" or "essence."

Then we took the fourth verse, "Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance," as directed against the two chief errors which threatened the true doctrine.

First, that of Sabellius, who "confounded the Persons" by making them to be only like three different characters assumed by the same Person. As if the Father were at one time the Son, and at another the Holy Ghost, and so on.

Secondly, that of Arius, who divided the Substance, i.e. the Godhead, making the Godhead of the Son to be different from and *inferior* to that of the Father, denying that the Son was begotten from all eternity, and in fact making Him to be a creature only.

And while thus condemning the teaching of Arius, we noticed that the same clause condemned also his immediate followers the Semiarians and Macedonians, the latter of whom, though they generally admitted the Godhead of the Son, denied the Godhead of the Holy Ghost.

In the next Address our consideration of the subject of the Holy Trinity was concluded.

Each divine Attribute and each sacred Name of

God, we were taught, was to be given to each Person by Himself and yet not so given, as if the Godhead were divided into three—but given to each, as a Person in the one undivided, and eternal Godhead.

And further the mysterious relations of the Three Divine Persons to each other were declared, the Father being the Fountain of the Godhead, the first Cause and the one unoriginated Principle of the Deity; the Son being “of the Father alone,” Begotten, not made nor created; and Begotten from all eternity; the Holy Ghost being “of the Father, and of the Son, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but Proceeding.”

And here we took a short review of the controversy which still divides the Greek Church from ourselves and from all Western Christendom,—the question of the double procession of the Holy Ghost,—His procession, that is, from the Son as well as from the Father; and we concluded this part of the subject by explaining that, although there is a kind of *subordination* of the Son to the Father, and of the Holy Ghost to the Father and the Son, yet none is “afore or after other” in respect of time, “none greater or less than another” in respect of dignity.

From the doctrine of the Holy Trinity we passed to that of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The true doctrine was declared to be that our Lord Jesus Christ is God and Man;—perfect God and perfect Man, so that in Him the two whole and perfect natures of God and Man are united in one Person.

And so, after glancing at those earliest forms of error, which made our Lord’s body to be a phantom and not true flesh and blood, or which explained

the Incarnation as the temporary abode in a mere man of a spiritual being sent from God—errors of which we have traces in the New Testament itself, and which had little of Christianity in them but the name, we came to the chief heresies, which were taught respecting this doctrine in the times which more immediately preceded and followed the writing of the Creed.

First, we referred again to the heresy of Arius, who denied that the Son was of one substance with the Father, and so denied the perfection of His Godhead.

Secondly, we noticed the opposite heresy of Apollinaris, who, denying that our Lord had a “reasonable,” i.e. a human soul, denied the perfection of His Manhood, and we saw that the verses of the Creed, which followed, though afterwards found applicable to subsequent heresies, were probably in their original sense intended to refer to his error, and its consequences.

Lastly, we took a rapid survey of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies.

And I tried to show you how Nestorius by teaching that “the Word” was not born of Mary, and that her Son was a Man with whom the Word was associated without being personally united, virtually made “two Christs,” viz. the divine Word and the Man Christ Jesus, who was associated with Him, and thus that he, like Arius, derogated from the perfection of our Lord’s Godhead.

On the other hand, we saw how, by an exactly opposite error, Eutyches, who taught that in Christ the Manhood was absorbed into the Godhead, thus following in the steps of Apollinaris, but carrying his

heresy to a further point, came to deny altogether our Lord's human nature.

In the course of our notices of these errors we have had occasion to speak of the first four General Councils, those great representative gatherings of the spiritual Rulers of the Church, whose decisions on the doctrines impugned were received then, and by the Church in all succeeding ages, with the utmost respect. This alone might prove the importance of the work which they accomplished. But, when we remember that their decisions were held in as much honour by our Reformers and those of Germany as by the ancient Church,—by Cranmer and Ridley, by Luther and Melancthon, as by Gregory the Great, who nearly 1000 years before the Reformation used to say that he regarded them almost as he regarded the four Gospels themselves, I think we must feel that it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the value of their decisions. ..

I will enumerate them once more.

The first, the Council of Nicæa, under the Emperor Constantine, A.D. 325, which condemned the Arians and gave us the Nicene Creed as far as the words, "I believe in the Holy Ghost."

The second, the Council of Constantinople, under the Emperor Theodosius I, A.D. 381, which condemned the Semiarians and Macedonians, who denied the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, as well as the Apollinarians, who denied that our Lord had a human soul, and which added the remaining clauses of the Nicene Creed.

The third, the Council of Ephesus, under the Emperor Theodosius II, A.D. 431, which condemned Nestorius,

The fourth, the Council of Chalcedon, under the Emperor Marcian, A.D. 451, which condemned Eutyches.

These four General Councils we must all try to remember, because of the great importance of the questions submitted to them, and the immense weight which the consent of after ages gave to their decisions.

Two other General Councils, each held at Constantinople, have been perhaps as widely acknowledged, but the first of these, A.D. 553, did little more than confirm the decisions of Ephesus and Chalcedon; while the second, A.D. 681, condemned, as we have already seen, those who long after, in the days of Mahomet, taught that our Lord had only one Will—his divine Will,—instead of having also a human Will, as we believe.

And now you will ask—or perhaps you will hardly need to ask, if you have followed me in these lectures—why this Creed should keep its place in our Prayer-book?

First, because it is one of those great Creeds of the Church, by the reception and use of which the Church of England proves her Catholicity; for the Athanasian Creed has not only been everywhere received and believed by the Roman and the Greek Churches, but was accepted, at least as a standard of doctrine, by every Protestant Church at the time of the Reformation.

Secondly, because, were there but little reason to fear the revival and spread in our own country of errors, such as those which this Creed condemns, we should remember that our Church in the Providence God seems destined to spread everywhere, as it is

doing at this time in India and the Colonies, where native Churches, in communion with us, but containing men and women whose minds are very differently constituted from ours, are springing up, not to speak of the work of Anglican missionaries in other parts of the world. Now, even if *we* could safely dispense with this noble bulwark of our Faith, it by no means follows that these other Churches, in which we are so deeply interested, could do so. It was this which so impressed the late Bishop Cotton of Calcutta, who, in the Charge to which I have already referred, said that he saw in India the prospect of the very same dangers arising to the faith, as those which had led to the putting forth of the Athanasian Creed, and that he for his part thought its continued use of the greatest importance to the Church in that great country.

Thirdly, because, provided that one or two words and expressions are carefully explained by the teacher, there need be no difficulty in the way of a young Christian of ordinary intelligence, fit, e.g. to be confirmed, using the Creed with profit and a fair understanding of its meaning. And if so, it seems to me that it were wiser to improve our teaching and to level it up to a fair standard of Christian intelligence, rather than to level it down by removing out of our Prayer-book and from our Services, a noble Confession of the Faith, which has done good service to the Church of Christ for between fourteen and fifteen centuries, and may be as much needed as ever, for aught we know, in days to come.

Two proposals have been made at various times and been even recommended by Committees of the

Convocation of Canterbury with regard to the condemning clauses.

(1) That a new and more exact translation of them should be made, which might make them sound less harshly in our English ears.

(2) That an explanatory Rubric should be prefixed to the Creed similar to one proposed in the reign of William and Mary in 1689, that these clauses are to be understood as "relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the Christian faith¹."

Whether either or both of these proposals be adopted or not, I trust that what has been said in the course of these Addresses may have removed some difficulties from minds which may have been perplexed by them.

It only remains that I should call your attention to the fact that the Creed is pointed for chanting, like the Psalms, and that it is ordered by the Rubric to be either "sung or said."

We shall therefore hope on Easter-day, when all the Service should be as bright and joyous as possible, to sing the Creed to a very simple chant. And if in consequence of the time which we have given to the consideration of its teaching, we can sing it then and afterwards with more intelligence, and a more thankful appreciation of the value of the great doctrines which it defends and expounds, then our labour will not have been in vain. May God grant us all this blessing for Christ's sake.

¹ See Proctor on the Prayer Book, p. 147.

APPENDIX.

I. ATHANASIAN CREED IN ENGLISH.

1. WHOSOEVER will be saved : before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith.

2. Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled : without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

3. And the Catholick Faith is this : That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity ;

4. Neither confounding the Persons : nor dividing the Substance.

5. For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son : and another of the Holy Ghost.

6. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one : the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.

7. Such as the Father is, such is the Son : and such is the Holy Ghost.

8. The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate : and the Holy Ghost uncreate.

9. The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible : and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.

10. The Father eternal, the Son eternal : and the Holy Ghost eternal.

11. And yet they are not three eternal : but one eternal.

12. As also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated : but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible.

13. So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty : and the Holy Ghost Almighty.

14. And yet they are not three Almighty : but one Almighty.

15. So the Father is God, the Son is God : and the Holy Ghost is God.

16. And yet they are not three Gods : but one God.

17. So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord : and the Holy Ghost Lord.

18. And yet not three Lords : but one Lord.

19. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity : to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord ;

20. So are we forbidden by the Catholick Religion : to say, There be three Gods, or three Lords.

21. The Father is made of none : neither created, nor begotten.

22. The Son is of the Father alone : not made, nor created, but begotten.

23. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son : neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

24. So there is one Father, not three Fathers ; one Son, not three Sons : one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

25. And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other : none is greater, or less than another ;

26. But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together : and co-equal.

27. So that in all things, as is aforesaid : the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.

28. He therefore that will be saved : must thus think of the Trinity.

29. Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation : that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

30. For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess : that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man ;

31. God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds : and Man, of the Substance of his Mother, born in the world ;

32. Perfect God, and perfect Man : of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting ;

33. Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead : and inferior to the Father, as touching his Manhood.

34. Who although he be God and Man : yet he is not two, but one Christ ;

35. One ; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh : but by taking of the Manhood into God ;

36. One altogether ; not by confusion of Substance : but by unity of Person.

37. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man : so God and Man is one Christ ;

38. Who suffered for our salvation : descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead.

39. He ascended into heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty : from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

40. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies : and shall give account for their own works.

41. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting : and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.

42. This is the Catholick Faith : which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the Holy Ghost ;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

II. ATHANASIAN CREED IN LATIN¹.

I. QUICUNQUE vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam fidem.

¹ It will be noticed that verses 19 and 20 of the English version, and also verses 25 and 26 are joined together in the Latin. The numbering adopted in these Addresses is that of the English version.

2. Quam nisi quis integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit.

3. Fides autem Catholica hæc est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in Unitate, veneremur;

4. Neque confundentes Personas, neque substantiam separantes.

5. Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

6. Sed Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, una est Divinitas, æqualis Gloria, coæterna Majestas.

7. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus Sanctus.

8. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus Spiritus Sanctus.

9. Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus Spiritus Sanctus.

10. Æternus Pater, æternus Filius, æternus Spiritus Sanctus.

11. Et tamen non tres Æterni, sed unus Æternus.

12. Sicut non tres Increati, nec tres Immensi; sed unus Increatus, et unus Immensus.

13. Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus.

14. Et tamen non tres Omnipotentes, sed unus Omnipotens.

15. Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus.

16. Et tamen non tres Dei, sed unus est Deus.

17. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus Spiritus Sanctus.

18. Et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.

19. Quia, sicut sigillatim unamquamque personam, Deum ac Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur, ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere Catholica Religione prohibemur.

20. Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus.

21. Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus.

22. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.

23. Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres ; unus Filius, non tres Filii ; unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres Spiritus Sancti.

24. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil majus aut minus ; sed totæ tres Personæ coæternæ sibi sunt et coæquales.

25. Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est, et Unitas in Trinitate, et Trinitas in Unitate, veneranda sit.

26. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.

27. Sed necessarium est ad æternam salutem, ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat.

28. Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus, et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Dei filius, Deus et homo est.

29. Deus est, ex substantia Patris ante sæcula genitus ; et homo est, ex substantia matris in sæculo natus ;

30. Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo, ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens ;

31. Æqualis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem ;

32. Quī, licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus ;

33. Unus autem, non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum ;

34. Unus omnino, non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate Personæ.

35. Nam, sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus :

36. Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;

37. Ascendit in coelos ; sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis ; inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.

38. Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem.

39. Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam æternam, qui vero mala, in ignem æternum.

40. Hæc est fides Catholica, quam nisi quis fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto ;

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

III.

FROM BISHOP COTTON'S CHARGE, 1863.

“We cannot too strongly impress on those who recoil from its definitions and distinctions that the object of the Creed was not to *limit* but to *widen* the pale of the Church, which various heretical sects were attempting to contract. It contains no theory of the Divine nature, but contradicts certain false opinions about it, and states the revealed truths of the Trinity and Incarnation without any attempt to explain them.”

And again :—

“I agree with those writers who consider that they [the condemning clauses] rather state the conditions of Church-membership now, than the grounds of God's judgment hereafter. This explanation seems warranted by the peculiar expressions employed in these clauses, and by the relation, which they bear to the one clause, which undoubtedly does refer to the final separation of the righteous and the wicked. The phraseology of the Creed is taken from Scripture, and by Scripture its meaning must be determined. Now in the New Testament *to be saved* (σώζεσθαι, ‘salvus esse’), together with ‘salvation’ and sometimes even ‘eternal life,’ are used of one, who is a living member of Christ's Church ; and all who belong to the Kingdom of Heaven founded upon earth by the Lord Jesus are often described as ‘elect,’ ‘chosen,’ ‘sanctified,’ ‘saved,’

from that untoward generation which rejected Him who bought us with His blood."

And (after showing the moral significance of *τηρεῖν* in 2 Tim. iv. 7, and its equivalent 'servare,' in the second verse of the Creed, 'to keep whole,') he concludes:—

"The Creed, then, so far from confining itself to mere dogma, insists even more distinctly than the Nicene or Apostles' Creed on the paramount necessity of a good life; so that if we view its doctrinal clauses in connection with certain prevalent and often recurring heresies, if we put a reasonable construction on those parts of it which seem harshly worded, or, as Baxter said, 'expound them modestly,' if above all, each of us employs them not to condemn Socinians or unbelievers, but to condemn himself, for the small use which he makes of the Catholic Faith, as the appointed means of growing in Christian holiness, we need not regard it as obsolete or unedifying, still less as a snare to conscience, and hindrance to ordination."

IV.

THE CREED A PSALM.

(Continued from p. 15).

"For myself, I have ever felt it as the most simple and sublime, the most devotional formulary to which Christianity has given birth, more so even than the *Veni Creator* or the *Te Deum*. Even the antithetical form of its sentences, which is a stumbling-block to so many, as seeming to force and to exult in forcing a mystery upon recalcitrating minds, has to my apprehension, even notionally considered, a very different drift. It is intended as a check upon our reasonings, lest they rush on in one direction beyond the limits of the truth, and it turns them back into the opposite direction. Certainly it implies a glorying in the

Mystery; but it is not simply a statement of the Mystery for the sake of its mysteriousness.”—*Grammar of Assent*, p. 129.

V.

RESPONSIBILITY OF BELIEF.

“I can hardly imagine any thinking man, who holds himself responsible for anything, seriously accepting the shallow phrase, which sometimes meets us, that we are not responsible for what we think and believe and hold; as if our thoughts and our belief were the mechanical, necessary, blind result of certain argumentative processes, which once set going produce their inevitable conclusions, as the printing machine gives off the impression of the types with which it is charged. No one, I think, who honestly reviews his own history, and examines into the foundations of his own principles of life, can doubt that he has had, at least, a good deal to do with *setting up the types*.”

[And, after showing how much in the formation of our beliefs and opinions depends upon ourselves, and yet recognising the force of circumstances, reason, and the prevailing ideas of the day,]—

“Yet, on the whole, the government of our own minds is in our own hands. That great instrument of reason given to us, we can play on it much as we will, well or ill, wisely or foolishly; and the result is the complex fabric of habitual thought, opinion, conviction, faith, on which we have to live. Who can reasonably say that for this we are not responsible?”—*Sermon before the University of Oxford by Dean Church*, November, 1877.

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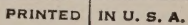
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